

<b>The peace settlements</b>
<b>Problems facing peacemakers:</b>
● January 1919 → Europe is in chaos
● The sudden defeat of the Central powers meant Europe is now vulnerable to the spread of communism from Russia.
● No stable government east of Rhine. As the old royal families are destroyed and many new government try to established themselves.
● In eastern Europe all nationalities from are trying to gain more territory and setup their states
● Fear of revolution was made worst from the Spanish flue pandemic
● The statesmen in Paris must draw peace, but they had to prevent economical chaos.
● The views of the people in the victorious countries made it difficult for the leaders to rebuild a peaceful Europe
○ Nationalist feelings were very strong (ex. Britain, France and Italy – saw the peace settlement as the final stage of the wast and expect from their leaders to destroy their enemy and secure what they had gained).
○ Public opinion was very much against a policy of conciliation (no room for moderates)
○ Strong call for reparations

● Allies themselves had different views on how to treat the defeated and different aims
of what they wanted to achieve.
● Wilson – believe that Germany should be punished for starting the war and should not
be allowed to join the League of Nations until they can prove that they are trust
worthy. Wilson wanted the 14 points to be the basics of negotiations.
○ His priority was to draw constitution of League of Nations.
○ There was a general agreement between allies to accept creations of independent
states in eastern Europe and Balkans and Turkey should be confined to its ethnic
borders.
○ General acceptance of points 7 and 8 – liberation of Belgium and return of Alsas
and Lorraine to France.
○ Wilson was prepared to compromise on issues that caused serious tensions
between USA and the allies. ex. Point 2 – freedom of the seas, but Wilson did
assure Britain that it did not mean to lift the blockade of Germany.
○ Also compromise with Britain over the former German colonies and Turkey's
Middle East possessions. These territories will be responsibility of the League of
Nations, but will be handed over to a mandatory power for administration.
○ Wilson made a compromise with France and Belgium. He promised American
support on the issue of German reparations.

● The compromises did not prevent imperialist rivalries. ex. Britain – France in middle
east; Japan – USA in far east
● Clemenceau (France) – want Germany contained in order to achieve a balance of
powers in Europe
○ French birthrate is low; 1.3 million dead; 2.8 million wounded and still face
Germany as potentially strong enemy.
○ Wanted maximum disarmament on the Germans
○ Wants an independent Polish state, Czechoslovak state, Yugoslav states,
independent Rhine land state to restrain or control Germany
○ Wanted to keep strong links/bonds with Britain and USA
○ He needs financial and economical cooperation from USA
○ Willing to make concessions. ex. In 1919 December agreed that Palestine would
be controlled by Britain
● George Lloyd (Great Britain)
○ wanted to avoid any long-term commitments in Europe
○ Have achieved most of it's aims before the meeting in Paris (German fleet had
surrendered, German colonial empire was gone, German armies in west Europe
has been pushed back in Germany)
○ Wanted peaceful and united Germany as a barrier against communism. (French
wanted crippled Germany – to stop any future military revival)

○ The British policy leaned toward reconciliation than revenge, but Britain wanted
Germany to pay reparations and admit war guilt.
● Both Clemenceau and Lloyd wanted Kaiser to be tried
● Italy
○ On entering the war on side of allies they signed Treaty of London → They were
promised Austrian territory in Istria and Dalmatia.
○ Also wanted port of Fiume in the Adriatic.
● Japan
○ Keep what they had taken (seized German territory in the Chinese province of
Shantung and German pacific islands).
■ Britain and USA didn't like that.
○ Unsuccessfully wanted racial equality in charter of League of Nations.
<b>Organization of the Peace Conference</b>
● Sophisticated
● First few months → slow start → dealing with problems of post-war Europe →
needed to get food to the central European powers → set-up the Supreme economical
council to deal with financial and economic problems in Germany and other
countries.

● 27 states attended, but power laid with the 'big five' (USA, British, France, Italy,
Japan)
○ Each, except Japan were represented by their war time leader, known as ' <u>council</u>
<u>of ten</u> '
● Russia and other defeated powers (eg. Germany) did not attended.
● 58 comities set-up
○ task to draw up a draft of terms for treaties for Germany, Bulgaria, Austria,
Hungary, Turkey.
○ There is no central co-ordinating body. So each committees worked in isolation →
often resulted in contradicting clauses.
● Organization of the conference changed as a result of Fontainbleau Memorandum
from Lloyd George
○ Stresses the need for concessions to Germany (due to the fear that it might draw
Germany toward communism)
○ Some of the issues could not be resulted by the comities, but by secret discussion
between parties involved → 'The council of four' (Lloyd-Britain, Clemenceau-
France, Orlando-Italy, Wilson-USA) – key decision making committee at the
conference
● Treaty of Versailles (for Germany)

○ First 26 articles contained the Covenant of the League of Nations, but Germany
was excluded (until they could prove themselves trust worthy – 1926 proved)
○ All agreed on German guilt and of having started the war – the <u>war guilt</u> →
justification for reparation clauses of treaty
○ Reparation – General agreement that Germany should pay; pay indemnity to
Allies (no agreement how much and how without damaging the economic growth
of the allies economies)
■ Allies needed to cover the cost of war
● Increased tax was no answer
■ Hoped that the USA will continue inter-allied cooperation (financial support)
and possibly cancel some of the war debt of its allies, but by 1918 it was
clear that this was not going to happen. Wilson had closed all the agencies for
this.
● Britain stopped any financial help to France due to end of USA support
● France needed money from Germany, wanting a long period of repayment
in gold or goods.
○ Would help France to recover from the war, but would also keep
Germany financially and economically weak
● USA wanted to limit the pay on the availability of Germany to pay and
wanted modest amount

- Britain wanted high reparation → prevent Germany to spend on military;  
wanted cost of war pensions (for widows or crippled soldiers)

- Reparation Commission setup to assess what Germany could pay

### Organization

- big 5
- council of 10
- 58 committees to draw the treaty
- sometimes they contradicted each other
- the organization of the conference changed as a result of Fontainebleau Memorandum from Lloyd George -> stressed the need for concession to Germany – fear that Allies might drive Germany towards communism
- some of the issues be resolved by the committees by secret discussions -> ‘The Council of Four’ (Clemenceau, Lloyd George, Orlando, Wilson)
- proved to be effective, key decision making committee in council

### Treaty of Versailles (Germany)

- Paris peace conference refers to all treaties
- This one drew at Hall of Mirrors, Germans declared their empire there

– in 1919 they signed the treaty there
– first 26 articles contained the Covenant of the League of Nations (Germany excluded)
– all agreed that Germany was guilty of <i>having started the war</i>
– this was justification for the reparation clauses of the treaty
– <i>Reparations</i> – pay indemnity to allies
– not agreed on what to pay and how without harming the allies economies
– the allies needed to cover the cost of the war
– increased tax wouldn't work
– hoped that US would continue the inter-allied economic cooperation and possibly cancel
some debts.
– by 1919 it was clear that this is not going to happen because Wilson has closed all of the
agencies for the inter-allied support
– Britain stopped financing France so they needed Germany to pay
– France wanted a long period of repayment in gold or goods -> financial resource and
keeping Germany economically weak
– the US wanted to limit German payment on their ability – wanted modest amount in the
treaty
– Britain wanted high reparations – for their army, and cost of war pensions to be included



– the reparation commission was set up to assess what Germany could pay
– there was no final figure for the reparations -> they signed 'blank cheque'
– <i>Disarmament</i>
– all agreed on German disarmament
– Britain and US wanted to destroy tradition of conscription – thought that this was a route to militarism
– Foch: you will end up with professional army which is dangerous because there will be only 2 year training, then they'll go into civil
– inter-allied commission was to monitor the pace of German disarmament
– they will allow the creation of regular army of 100 000 soldiers
– the naval fleet was also dramatically reduced (based on tonnage)
– <i>Territories</i> (p. 145)
– complete agreement on German colonies overseas have been reached by GB, Fr and Japan
– They were not to be returned
– Br, Fr, and S. Africa were given most of German colonies in Africa
– Austr., New Z. and Japan got German Pacific territories
– all administered as mandates by the allies under the League of Nations
– each power was to agree to certain principles:

a. rule the mandate territory in the interest of the people
b. no slavery, freedom of religion
c. each power had to give annual report to L of N
d. they would be eventually given own government
– clever way of giving allies control over German colonies without contradiction Wilson
– French demanded <i>Saarland</i> – minerals and industrial area
– never been part of France but they insisted on it
– Wilson didn't agree with this clash
– compromise: Mines would be French, government given to League of Nations
– after 15 years – Plebiscite (referendum)
– <i>Danish Northern Schleswig</i> returned to Danes
– Eupen Malmedy – had been administered by Ger and Belg – return to Belgium
– <i>Luxemburg</i> – neutral
– big disagreement over <i>Rhineland</i> – French wanted to occupy – would weaken German
– Britain had no admissions on the area – if Fr. gets the area the balance of power could
shift to Fr. and tension between Ger and Fr
– the agreement: allied occupation of the Rhineland for 15, in return France wanted Anglo-
American treaty which would guarantee France against a new German attack
– Demilitarized zone
– <i>Polish area</i> : Commission on Polish affairs

– Danzig and Upper Silesia
– Lloyd George feared that there will be resentment of local German population – he
opposed
– Danzig – free and autonomous city -> linked to Poland by customs union (moving trades
easily) and under supervision of the League
– France received <i>Alsace-Lorraine</i>
– <i>War Guilt Clause</i> : Germany had to accept the responsibilities of starting the war.
<u>German response:</u>
– the draft of the treaty was given in May 1919 and 15 days to respond
– Germany accepted a number of clauses
– but wanted membership in the League (allowed to join in 1926)
– Germans and AHs in Sudetenland decide for themselves if they want to join Germany
– wanted a commission to be set up to examine the war guilt question
– they said that the treaty wasn't based on the 14 points
– their demands refused
– in June 1919 - given final version
– Lloyd George agreed that there will be Plebiscite in Upper Silesia
– German people opposed to the treaty and political crisis followed
– chancellor resigned

– German cabinet had to accept the treaty (they could not fight again) but made their
objections very clear and acted under extreme pressure
– Treaty signed in Hall of Mirrors in Versailles and ratified (signed) by all signing powers
except the USA
– therefore France and Britain had to carry out the treaty themselves
<u>Enforcing the treaty (1920-1923)</u>
– Britain and France had to enforce it
– both of them could not agree on how the treaty will be implemented
– Britain wants to see balance of powers in Europe -> would make them free to deal with
problems in India, Egypt (its colonies)
– Britain wanted peaceful and prosperous Germany which would pay reparations and have
strong economy -> Europe would benefit
– France wanted to weaken Germany and make her fulfill the treaty, but also an economic
growth (Fr. is shifting)
– Neither France or Britain was strong enough make their policies real – they depended on
each other because USA is not there to help
– German front policy was to revise the treaty
– by exploiting the Anglo-French differences -> tried to discuss each separately

– this would weaken the allies and they would get concessions
– Ger. also came to understanding with Russia which helped Germany to oppose Brit. and Fr. more easily
– in early 1920 the allies met very defining (opposing) Germany
– Germany had to speed up disarmament and accept new schedule for coal deliveries
– reparations dominated the political agenda – kept tensions
– April 1921 – fixed the total reparations: 132 milliard gold Marks
– Germany reacted with rage and allies threatened with occupation of Ruhr
– by December 1921 Germany announced that they couldn't make the next payment because of inflation
– French occupied the Ruhr to make Germany pay – took the coal mines (9 months)
– Stresemann called for passive resistance
– there is lack of cooperation from Germany
<u>Criticism of the treaty:</u>
– up to 1950s the view was very hostile – betrayal of Wilson's 14 points
– treaty was vindictive (revenge like)
– however in 50s and 60s -> reassessment of the treaty (ethnic tensions in Eur., Cold war tensions)

– in 1918, 1919 peace makers did their best given the circumstances – economic and
political situation
– recent views: it was the best that could be achieved at the time
– the weakness of the treaty was not the terms, but the lack of structure to enforce it.
– Germans called it capitalist peace treaty
– the most resented clause was the war guilt
– they couldn't unite with Austria and Germans in Sudetenland
– Lloyd George tried to amend certain clauses – like Upper Silesia
J.M. Keynes view:
– British delegate at Versailles
– resigned in protest from the treasury
– it would be impossible for Germany to pay
– his book – major impact on public opinion in GB and US
– turned popular opinions against the peace
A.J. Taylor views:
– the origins of British appeasement between two wars could be found in 1919 and British
guilt

– many politicians in GB think that after 1923 Hitler’s rise to power was the result of the
harshness of the treaty
– he said: the treaty was designed to prevent German aggression again, but you can’t
enforce the treaty without Germany’s cooperation
– 1919 Germany is still strong country
– it has resources
– once she recovered, she could be a threat again
– Versailles contained nothing that could prevent the situation
– In France many believed the treaty wasn’t harsh enough
– their land destroyed, invaded – badly hit by the war
– Fosch: “it is an armistice for 20 years, it’s not a peace treaty”
– Clemenceau criticized in France for compromising French interests and that he gave up
claim for Rhineland (in exchange for anglo-american guarantee)
– Italians: peace settlement attacked by nationalists
– Nationalist in Italy called the treaty: a “mutilated” peace – crippled peace – because Italy
didn’t get what they thought they should
– Italian government was criticized and undermined which prepared the way for Mussolini

– in US not ratification of the treaty -> undermined the treaty
– US withdrew from European political affairs
– really destroyed any chance of the settlement being fulfilled
Sally Marks views:
– the different intensions of different nations resulted in good treaty
– the treaty wasn't so unfair, but Germans believed it was unfair, so they spent time on
revising it and undermining it
– she said: “the peace left Germany both powerful and resentful with weak neighbors to her
east”
– the treaty was only the first step, the peacemakers failed to enforce it
– the peace failed to create balance of powers
– the Habsburg empire was replaced by a mosaic of small unstable states
– Italy felt cheated – a revisionist power, Germany was bitter, angry and determined to
undermine the treaty and Britain and France couldn't agree on how to enforce it
– many historians today in Britain, France, German and US see the treaty as too lenient (not
harsh)



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How effective were they in restoring stability and peace (, balance of power...) in Europe?

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In what ways, and with what success, did post-war peace makers attempt to deal with the problems which produced the conflict.

- specific reference to 2 peace settlements.

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Peace settlements create conditions for new conflicts.

- The treaty was enforced and Germany strongly disagreed with it – therefore there was a possibility that sooner or later it would stop fulfilling the terms -> Germany will recover
- reparations and war guilt clause -> created most resentment in Germany -> German's desire to revise the treaty
- the fact that the treaty was failed to be enforced
- only 100 000 soldiers, no conscription -> very elite, highly dedicated army
- German's and other felt it was too harsh – they went too far
- ideologies create the next conflict

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To what extend were the aims of Big Three met?

Wilson:

- Germany was punished for the war – economically poor -> but recovered quickly

– they never paid for the reparations
– created independent states -> self determination
– disarmament didn't happen
– self determination – Poland was given the right
– wanted democratic states on the other side of Germany – back up
Clemenceau:
– didn't want to be threatened by Germany – didn't happen
– wanted Germany to be humiliated – didn't happen
– Germany wasn't left crushed!
Lloyd George:
– didn't want to destroy German because it could harm their trade
– peaceful united Germany which would be able to fight against communism – didn't
happen
– Britain balance of wanted power – felt they have achieved that
Did the treaties resolved the issues?





– America wants to be isolated
– Germany left potentially strong power and bitter – Versailles didn't crush Germany
– now she needs to rebuild and negotiate around the treaty
– Britain wants to concentrate on colonies
<b><u>Weimar Republic</u></b>
– began in 1918
– transformation from Kaiser's 2 <sup>nd</sup> Reich to Weimar Republic – 'German Revolution'
2 phases:
1) 'Revolution from above'
– October 1918
– 2 army chiefs: Hindenburg, Ludendorff – they were directing German affairs and war
(not Kaiser)
– they recognized that the war was lost and wanted to protect the reputation of army
– don't want high command to take responsibility for lost of the war
– Ludendorff advised Kaiser to form new government under Prince Max of Baden
– Germany is now parliamentary democracy/constitutional monarchy
– hoped this would be more acceptable by allies – so they can negotiate

– the revolution came from high command, not the people – that’s why ‘from above’
– politicians now sent for armistice
1) ‘November revolution’ (revolution from the low)
– Wilson and allies would not negotiate peace with Germany with Kaiser in his place
– even people see Wilhelm II. as threat to peace
– the catalyst was the order to sent navy to sea to give last attack to British – they didn’t obey and returned to Kiel -> the mutiny spread across Germany
– workers and soldier councils set up
– Kaiser fled to Holland
– After 5 weeks Prince Max hands over to Socialist Government headed by SPD leader Ebert
–
<u>Divisions within the parties</u>
– by Nov 1918 the socialists controlled the country, but they were divided
– The Government, which Ebert formed, contained SPDs and USPDs
– USPD attracts more of the extreme left and militant groups, they broke away from SPD
– SPD is moderate
– both groups have different views on the future of Germany -> problem
2 possible paths:

1) The majority socialist want to have parliamentary democracy – democratically elected assembly
2) USPD and The Spartacus Union want to have a Soviet Republic – new political system based on workers and soldiers councils
– the majority socialist win the vote and want to have elections for assembly in Jan 19 <sup>th</sup> 1919
– extreme left worried -> they would loose their chance
<u>Weimar is threatened from the left -&gt; Spartacist Revolt</u>
– the Spartacus worried because if elections took place they would loose their only opportunity to create a socialist state
– prepared to cease powers by force
– January the 6 <sup>th</sup> the Spartacist units occupy newspaper, offices (news), government buildings, railway stations in Berlin
– the leader Liebknecht and Luxemburg
– Ebert expected uprising -> ‘Ebert-Groener pact’ – the army would be left as independent force
– the regular army not reliable – most officers gone
– Groener has his army but the men are working class as well

– he moved the divisions into Berlin to restore public order but he also has to get support
from <u>irregular</u> forces -> volunteer units: Freikorps – former soldiers and officers
– because his army might not like to shoot on their ‘fellow comrades’
– Freikorps attracted by good pay but also strongly anti-communist, mercenaries
– in 1919 about 500-10,000 Freikorps units – very well trained, right-winged, anti-socialist
(pro-monarchist), anti-communist, anti-Semitic (and anti-republic)
– they hated communist more than socialist so they helped the government
– the Spartacus revolt quickly crushed by Freikorps – they pulled them on the street and
shot them
– Spartacus not well armed and didn’t have enough people
– Rosa Luxemburg and Liebknecht shot
– the killings on leaders strained the relationships between KPD (communist) and SPD
(socialist) and led to no possibility of collaboration between the parties
– this was negative thing for Weimar – hard to get overall majority
<u>Elections and Weimar Constitution</u>
– 19 Jan 1919 – elections
– SPD – largest single party (38% of vote) – they take 163 out of 421 seats
– outnumbered by anti-socialist parties representing middle and upper class
➔ led to coalition

– all governments between 1919 and 1931 were coalitions
– usually SPD and DDP and centre party
– the assembly met in Feb 1919 in Weimar
– government supposed to be headed by chancellor Schneidemann
– Ebert elected president – has emergency powers
– coalition government was formed
– constitution approved by assembly on 31 July 1919
– most advanced democratic system in Europe
Problems:
– many provisions flawed
– difficult to convert proportional representation into a stable government
– 30+ parties in election
– coalition governments became a way of life
– as a result the parties had to make significant compromises
– decision making became more difficult
– Article 48 (president's emergency powers) – intended to protect democracy but used in an undemocratic way -> undermined Weimar
– gave power to suspend parliamentary procedures and rule by degree
– 1930 – 33 Germany constantly government by degree – Hindenburg
– he succeeded Ebert – however his elections were blow for the government



<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• <u>Threat from the Left</u></li></ul>
– communist violence and disorder continued 1919 – 1920
– in Jan 1919 the KPD rising in the north sea ports -> violently put down by Freikorps
– March 1919 the KPD (left) called the general strike in Berlin crushed by Freikorps – 1500
dead
– strikers demanded shorter hours and government based on councils
– in Nov. 1918 the independent socialist republic was declared in Bavaria with leader
Eisner (USPD) – assassinated 1919 by right-wing extremist – Bavaria moved further
‘Left’
– Freikorp force suppressed Bavarian ‘Soviet republic’
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Did the ‘left’ pose a serious threat to Weimar democracy?</li></ul>
– several years of unrest up to 1933
– the KPD (1918/19) did get a control for a short while in major cities and Bavaria
– they lacked ‘popular’ (majority) support (12.6% highest)
– the working class protests and rallies were due to the economic issues (food shortages)
rather than because of desire for dramatic political change
– many workers wanted just food and job
– poor leadership weakened the communists (KPD)

– the government repression (+ minor concessions) prevented any revolts for succeeding
<u>Threat from the Right 1919 – 1923</u>
<i>German national socialist Peoples Party (DNVP)</i>
– Junkers + big business men + middle class and some working class
– pro-monarchy
– their leader constantly verbally abusing government
– in mid-20 entered government – aim to protect the interest of Junkers and buss. men
– by 1928 they were just refusing to work with the government
<i>The Nazi Party (NSDAP) founded 1920</i>
– anti-republic, anti-communist, anti-democratic, anti-Semitic and racist
– anti-Versailles and VERY nationalistic
– paramilitary Freikorps – extreme right – but disbanded due to Versailles
– supporters of the extreme right held important positions in German society
– the most powerful was the German army Reichswehrmacht
– Judiciary, police and universities
➔ they all had very anti-Republic thinking
<u>Right wing hatred for the Republic</u>

- when republic formed many from the right lost much of their power and influence
- they saw the new republic: the socialist, communist and Jewish which they despised
- they blamed Weimar republic for the ‘shameful peace’ -> called the new government the ‘November criminals’
- Germany stabbed in the back by ‘Republican politicians’ 1920 -> used by right to attack the republic (Stab in the back myth)
- Extreme right exploited the anger of German people over the treaty of Versailles to undermine the Republic
- ‘Diktat’ – they were forced to agree
- Reparations and ‘War guilt’ clause
- Loss of territory to Poland
- most Germans expected victory -> feeling of bitterness and anger at the end -> used by extreme right
- felt that the 14 points were useful selectively and didn’t apply to everyone

## Violent opposition of the Right

### *1. Kapp Putsch 1920*

- attempt by extreme right to overthrow the republic
- in 1919 the German army was about 350 000 and Freikorps were 250 000
- Treaty of Versailles dictates to reduce to 100 000 -> Freikorps to be disbanded

– 1920 the Marinebrigade Ehrhardt – didn't want to disband
– General Luttwitz – commander of Berlin army
– he asked Ebert (PM) and Noske (Def. minister) to stop disbanding of Freikorps – Ebert refused
– Luttwitz ordered the Marinebrigade to march on Berlin and occupied key areas of capital
– Noske called regular army to crush them – they refused bc. 'soldiers do not shoot soldiers'
– government moved from Berlin to Stuttgart
– Noske called general strike -> huge support from people -> Berlin paralyzed -> Putsch collapsed
– Kapp and Luttwitz had support from extreme right many from moderate right felt it wasn't the right time to overthrow
– but it undermines the government and economy
<i>1. Assassinations</i>
– 1919 – 1923 – most Weimar politicians feared assassination
– right wing Germans turned to murdering individuals to weaken the government
– Death squad – Organisation Consul -> decided who is going to be killed
– Rathenau – minister of reconstruction and foreign minister
– had Jewish background -> targeted for the extreme right

- his death was seen as a major blow for the stability of Weimar Republic
- 700 people demonstrated against the assassinations and Counsel
- after 1923 the assassinations declined because they were no longer supported by right

*1. Munich Putsch 1923 (Beer Hall Putsch)*

- French entry into Ruhr – created strong feelings of nationalism in Germany
- Ruhr – heavy industrial region
- over 60 000 French and some Belgian troops marched in bc. Germany failed to pay reparations
- German government called passive resistance – no cooperation with the troops
- French brutal acts created more anger
- extreme right benefited from this mood
- Stresemann called of the passive resistance
- extreme rights used this to say that government is coward
- late 1923 right wing plot was organized to overthrow the government in Bavaria
- Chief plotters: Bavarian state commissioner Von Kahr, local army commander Van Lossow, police commander Von Sersser
- Also involved Hitler's NSDAP and Ludendorff

How serious was the threat from the Right – early 1920s?

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1918 – 1924 – The strength of the right grow
1924 elections – DNVP on 191 of votes, NSDP 61
– had links to the army, gained support however didn't have enough
– did not have majority vote/support
– also weakened by their own divisions – that's why the putsch failed
– there was lot of people that supported the Republic, government
– -> Kapp Putsch, Munich Putsch
<u>Hyperinflation</u>
– 2 theories
• External factors (Snyder)
– related to the reparations demand by allies
• Reparations were just contributing factors (Layton)
– inflations started before the reparations -> can't be seen as entire problem
– in early stage: creeping inflation
– was result of long term problems in the economy and the pressures brought on by war
– later stage: hyperinflation
– directly related to the reparations -> led to occupation of Ruhr
– the occupations of the Ruhr and the passive resistance to it led to the collapse of German Mark

–	the German government needed money so they printed more (just as the government has done during the war)
–	they needed money to pay compensation to war victims, who has lost under T of V, civil servants, welfare benefits, loans to get small ind. starting
–	French, Belgians were partly responsible and British – they agreed to the Ruhr occupation
–	the government response led to hyperinflation
–	passive resistance = no goods made -> no money for gov. but government still had spending -> printing of more money
–	<i>Nov 1923 German Mark was worthless</i>
–	<i>people resorted to barter – exchange goods</i>
–	<i>food shortages</i>
–	the hyperinflation had influence on economical, social and psychological impact
–	<i>peoples' value started to change -&gt; became socialists, anti-semitic...it led to more unrest</i>
–	millions lost their savings
–	<i>health of elderly suffered – bc. of poverty they couldn't offer food</i>
–	in long term: it contributed to the end of Weimar
–	pensioners lost a lot, landlords income fell,
–	workers didn't loose much bc. they didn't have anything to loose and they lived from salary to salary
–	farmers could barter

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### Why did Weimar failed?



<b><u>Years of recovery/'Golden Years'</u></b>
1923 Aug – Stresemann became Chancellor
Nov – His government fails and he became Foreign minister
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• He co-founded the People's Party DVP – Party of small and medium size business class</li></ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• as chancellor he helped republic to live through crises</li></ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• called off passive resistance</li></ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• stabilized the currency -&gt; Rentenmarks</li></ul>
<b><u>Stresemann Foreign Policy</u></b>
- Germany
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• isolated</li></ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• not in L of N</li></ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• seen as threat</li></ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• vulnerable in the West</li></ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• struggling to meet reparations -&gt; couldn't convince allies that she can't pay</li></ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• humiliation of French invasion (1923 Ruhr)</li></ul>

- she did have treaty of Rapallo – agreement with Russia
- counterbalance to relations to the relations between France and Poland
  - France – Poland was seen as threat to Germany – trapped
- Stresemann's aims:
- 'fulfillment' policy

○ attempt to improve relations with Britain and France by following the
Treaty of Versailles
○ it was hoped that if Germany could be seen to follow the terms of the
treaty then Brit and Fr might be more willing to revise the treaty
○ all politicians wanted revision of ToV
○ Stresemann tried diplomatically, military wanted aggression
○ Stresemann could be seen as being pragmatist (realist)
○ result: Germany's international position dramatically changed
■ he was very good diplomat, knew how to negotiate
■ change in French policy towards Germany – France aggression
ceased
○ France and Britain feared that Germany might move towards Russia – they
were prepared to make concessions
• Stresemann's Diplomacy
○ 'Dawes Plan' 1924
■ German annual payment of reparations was reduced
■ Germany got large loans to increase its financial reserves – but at
cost -> foreign control over National bank

- French withdraw from Ruhr

- 'Locarno Pact' 1925

- Ger, Fr, Belgium agreed not to use force to change the borders

- Germany has to give up all claim to Alsace-Lorraine

- France agreed not to occupy the Ruhr

- led to optimism and reduced tensions between France and

Germany

- 1925 Allies agreed to remove occupational forces from Cologne area

- 1926 The Allied forces were reduced

Germany became member of League of Nations
He signed Treaty of Berlin (sort of replacing Rapallo) -> trading
and military exchanges
▫ also making sure he weakens France's position
○ 1929 All occupying forces were to be removed the Rhineland in 1 year (5
yrs. ahead of the treaty)
Stresemann agreed to the 'Young Plan' (replaces Dawes Plan) ->
German reparations were reduced (from 132 billions to 37 b. M)
– Stresemann's policies gave nothing but hatred from extreme Right
– accused of treason against the state because he hold off the passive resistance
– at Dawes plan seen as accepting the war guilt lie
– at Young plan seen as enslaving generations to paying for reparations
– may be nationalist because he is keeping his options opened at East – looking for
expansion
– by 1929 the ToV was still in tact
– no frontier adjustments
– German minorities was till separated, not become part of Fatherland
– military clause still same
– ( after Stresemann's death) after depression the whole economy collapsed



HWK for Tuesday: Is there a stronger case for Stresemann's success than for his failure in foreign policy? (min 2 sides handwritten)

## Economy 1924-1929 (Good years)

- Stresemann death
- industry developed - boom
- Berlin = envy of culture
- mid – late 1920 – Economy improving
- currency stable
- Germany becomes attractive for foreign investments
  - a lot from US
- German economy grew slowly
- Industrial production increased
- export increased
- the working class gained most from the new prosperity
- trade unions won a lot from traders – significant increase for real wages
- increase in social welfare spending (unemployment insurance, pensions...)
- late 1920 – improvement in availability of housing (housing public schemes)

– however the Weimar economy was insecure
a. very dependent on foreign investments - loans which could've been withdrawn
any time
b. public spending was higher than income from tax (housing, roads, welfare
spending)
• Germany had <i>budget deficit</i> made up by borrowing (not good in long-term)
c. the exports increased but imports were also high
• 1927 – 1928 trade deficit
d. unemployment still high in late 1920s
e. agriculture prices dropped a lot (late 20s)
• many farmers went into debts.
f. the welfare system was extended so the working class gained but it angered the
powerful groups in the elite -> made them more suspicious of the democratic
system
• the elite had to pay higher taxes

g. the middle-class also missed out – small business men and low white-collar
middle class (educated people – teachers, etc) suffered and didn't like the working
class because they increased faster
• saw Weimar as socialist trade union state
– farmer's revenge -> voted for Nazis (handout)
<u>Weimar Culture</u>
– literature:
• with social and political purpose
• writing was a value if it was useful
• this provoked right-wing writers
<i>Thomas Mann</i>
<i>Herman Hesse</i>
<i>E. M. Remarque</i> – All quiet on Western Front (challenging stabbed in the back
myth)
– Music:
• changing its style – more experimental mood



<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• had to appear to mass audience</li></ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• atonality</li></ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• practical purpose – composing for movies, ...</li></ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• especially Jazz</li></ul>
– Architecture:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• most innovative area</li></ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• new style</li></ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• whole buildings out of concrete -&gt; functionalism</li></ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• most famous style: Bauhaus (simple, functional but elegant)</li></ul>
– Culture
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• cabarets</li></ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• night clubs</li></ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• open homosexuality</li></ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• naked dancers</li></ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Charleston became popular</li></ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Marlene Dietrich!!</li></ul>

– attempt to move from traditional to new
– the radio and cinema and loud music, drama – to reach ordinary people
– culture became more social
– spectator sports
– much coming from USA, not traditional German culture
– dazzling movie industry
– other traditions were challenged – like lower position of women
– women started to break the traditional norms – eg. smoking, short hair styles, American style dress
– they campaigned for sexual liberation
– expansion of employment opportunities for women
– everyone could vote but contraception and abortion wasn't allowed
– <i>many Germans did welcome this new experimentation but many more saw this change as end of their world</i>
• <i>fear of cultural decay -&gt; used by the right to attack the Germany</i>
• <i>Blamed on the lazy Weimar republic (tide of filth)</i>
• <i>Nazis supported campaigns ageist Americanization, homosexuals</i>
• <i>Kinder, Küche, Kirsche (Children, kitchen, church)</i>

– Jewish people were involved with the new culture -> prove for the Right that they're
doing harm to Republic
– more Germans reacted against the culture than those who supported it
– conservatives blamed the government for undermining traditional German values and
culture
• saw gov. as unpatriotic
– Weimar was attack both from the Left and Right
– many Germans continued to take traditional types of entertainment (Bier halls, church
festivals) but the change reinforced the hostility to the regime
• it made them more likely to vote against Weimar
<u>Political Instability</u>
– from Feb 1919 – Nov 1923 – 9 governments (average life span 6.5 months)
– Nov 1923 – June 1928 – 6 governments (9 months span)
– from 1924 no attempts to overthrow the government
– the parties hostile to the government were in decline – losing seats in parliament
– the moderates increased their seats in Reichstag
– break up of political agreement

– real problem was not getting majority in Reichstag but creating a stable government –
because of coalitions
– the individual parties had varied aims so it was hard to achieve coalition that would be
stable -> coalitions didn't last
○ SPD (Socialists) – wouldn't serve any coalition with DNVP (People's P)
– differences between parties widened
– SPD moved further left
– Center Party moved to more right view
– the anti-republic right were getting stronger, respectable
• attract middle class
– DNVP became more radical
– DNVP and Nazis started working well together
– by 1929 the Right was beginning to challenge the declining coalitions
– Hindenburg started to use article 48
<i>Political violence in later 20s</i>
– Nazis took the lead to challenge the government
– they followed the policy of 'legality'

○ contesting elections to build up the base in Reichstag
○ at the same time using SA to destabilize -> street violence
■ earlier to protect the speakers
■ leader Rohm – as army on Nazi state
■ over half from working class, unemployed
■ distributing propaganda leaflets, protects meetings, street violence
– wealthy anti-communist business people supported the Party -> money
– through attacking communist, leaflets they won Hitler more votes
– Berlin was worst of fighting's
<u>Weimar 1930 – 1933</u>
(effects of Wall Street Crash)
– World depression – end 1929
○ important factor in collapse of Weimar but not the only
– GB and Fr survived the impact of depression
– they adopted their political systems to deal with the crash
– Germany had political and economic system before -> more vulnerable

– depression was a turning point -> accelerator
<i>Economy</i>
– weaknesses long before 1929
– prosperity of 24-29 was very insecure
– any external events could cause economic collapse
– short term loans – Am. demanded repayment
– loans stopped -> Weimar couldn't keep going
– agriculture in recession (food prices fallen by 30% -> farmers destroyed)
– even before, middle-class struggling
– economy dominated by big businesses and Trade Unions – hurt middle-class – had to pay
more tax -> small businesses struggling -> voted for Hitler
– big businesses supported financially Hitler because they didn't like TU
– unemployment rising (climbing before 1929)
<i>Post-depression</i>
– the depression caused collapse
• Black Thursday (Oct 1929) – short term loans recalled
• Food prices, raw materials went down again
• world trade declined as demand declined

• unemployment started to go up (29-30: 2 million, 31: 3 million, late 33: 6.1 million)
• 5 major banks closed
– Working-class skilled/unskilled facing long-term unemployment
– social security benefits cut off – hard to feed children
– middle-class struggling to survive (people not buying anything)
– loss of pride and respectability -> blamed the government
– agriculture workers – rural poverty -> selling their land
– many people lost faith in Weimar, they start to turn to extreme political parties
– 1931: reparations stopped by allies
– chancellor tried to set up public works – employ people and give them wage
• slight improvement by 1933 (unemployment about 5 million)
– Young plan banned printing vast amount of money
– had to cut spending -> cut of social welfare
– 1930-32: 5 national elections
– effects of the slump was clear in the voting
– Sept 1930: large increase in anti-democratic deputies -> especially Nazis in Reichstag
– couldn't pass anything without majority

- parliamentary government starts to decline
- the government changed from parliamentary to presidential where president rules by decree



**MON: How successful was Weimar, why did it collapse?...**

## Breakdown of Parliamentary government

- Hindenburg was monarchist – misused article 48
- coalitions couldn't work together – only extreme left, right
- from presidential government changed to dictatorship (Hitler)

### *Müller's (chancellor) government*

- 1828 – 30 – coalition
- SPD, DVP, DDP, Centre
- they're divided -> couldn't agree on issues
  - to cut public spending (pensions, *unemployment*, road works)
- > Müller was forced to resign



– parliamentary government became impossible because the middle class parties and SPDs
(Social democrats) could not agree and didn't have enough support in Reichstag to
govern on their own
– only option was presidential government
– Hindenburg is too old to rule on his own
<i>Presidential government 1930-33</i>
– he was to appoint and dismiss chancellors and sign decrees
– strongly influenced by general von Schleicher
• defense minister
• he's also monarchist
• he props Hindenburg who to elect -> appointed Brüning 1930
– Brüning has no majority in Reichstag
– he cuts public spending using article 48
– it did not help the economy
– unemployment went up
– Reichstag challenged the legality of this decree (passing cuts) and Hindenburg dismissed
Reichstag

– New Reichstag elections: <b>September 1930</b>
• Nazis gained huge deputies in the government!! (107)
– Brüning has to rely on presidential decree
– 1932: reparations are suspended (meeting in Lausanne)
– April 1932 Brüning bans SA
– Presidential elections in 1932: <b>Hindenburg re-elected</b>
• more people supporting Nazi party
• Schleicher wants Brüning to cooperate with Nazis
– May 1932: Brüning dismissed by Hindenburg
• Brüning wanted to improve the economic situation, wealthy landowners
complained to Hindenburg, he dismissed Brüning
– von Papen appointed chancellor
– nominated by Schleicher who was trying to get authoritarian system
– elites and Nazis controlling
– Papen had very strong links with elite class
– Schleicher hoped to tame (control) the Nazis
– mid 1932 von Papen and Schleicher lifted the ban on the SA -> Nazis are happy

- Papen agrees to Reichstag elections
- July 1932: **The elections for Reichstag**
  - Nazis strengthen their power – 37% of votes -> disaster for Weimar
- Hitler refuses to serve under von Papen – wants to be chancellor
- also to pass the Enabling bill which would allow him to rule by decree
  - Hindenburg refused
- Vote of no confidence in Papen to get rid of him -> Hitler won because he got support
- New elections allowed by Hindenburg: **November 1932**
  - Schleicher becomes chancellor but he doesn't win support in Reichstag
- Papen wanted revenge -> formed alliance with Hitler
  - Hitler would be chancellor, Papen Vice-chancellor
- Schleicher couldn't get support in Reichstag -> resigned
- Hitler appointed chancellor, Papen vice-chancellor by Hindenburg
- Hitler was now presidential chancellor with little power

Rise to power

Consolidation

